THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACE

Vol. 6—No. 6 OCTOBER, 1913 Whole No. 36

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 26 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Conducted by

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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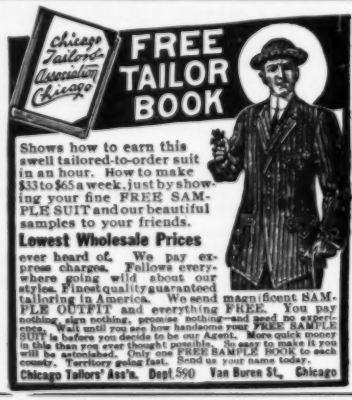
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THE CRISIS

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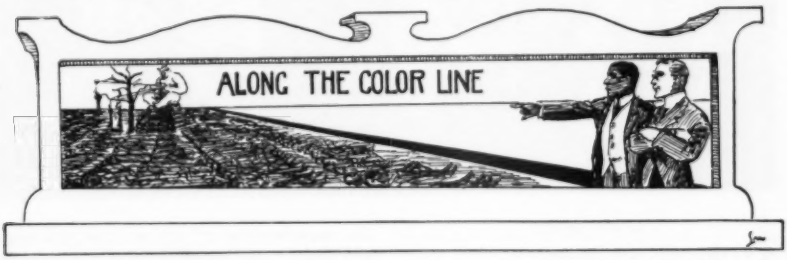


POLITICAL.

W. W. SANDERS, a colored man, has been appointed as State librarian of West Virginia by Governor Hatfield.

¶ The United Negro Democracy of Jersey City has sent a letter to the commissioners of that city protesting against discriminations inflicted upon the race. The letter stated that President Wilson's promises to 8,000 colored voters have not been realized and that great indignation and dissatisfaction are resulting from the segregation carried on in Washington.

¶ The Negroes of the District of Columbia have sent a protest to Congress against insults inflicted upon the race by men in Congress who misrepresent American sentiment.

¶ The "equal rights" law forbidding discrimination against any person on account of race, creed or color at any place of public accommodation in the State of New York went into effect September 1. This law was passed for the purpose of strengthening the law already enacted to this effect.

¶ The resignation of Governor Pinchback, who was appointed an assistant in the New York customs service by President Taft, has been asked for, received and accepted.

¶ The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has sent a very pointed letter of protest to President Wilson. This letter was signed by Moorfield Storey, president of the association, W. E. B. Du Bois and Oswald Garrison Villard, chairman of the board.

¶ Dr. George W. Buckner has been named United States Resident and Consul-General to the Republic of Liberia.

His nomination lies before the Senate, but has not yet been confirmed.

ECONOMICS.

NEGROES in Louisville, Ky., are planning a department store in this city to cater exclusively to members of their race.

¶ Negro insurance companies in Philadelphia, carrying risks amounting to $10,000,000, have organized a national association to be affiliated with the Negro Business League.

¶ Convincing evidence that slavery is practised in the Philippines for purposes of economic gain has been given in a document submitted to the Secretary of War by Dean C. Worcester.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

AT BENGUELLA, in the heart of Africa, the women have caused polygamy to decrease rapidly by rising in rebellion against the practice of the men having five wives.

¶ Boston has been rather slow in opening the large field of "social service" to paid colored workers, but in some cases the field has been opened. Mrs. Augustus Hinton holds a position in the social-service department of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

¶ Hon. Newton D. Baker, mayor of Cleveland, urges as a special reason for the cooperation of colored citizens in the Perry celebration the service of colored sailors in the Battle of Lake Erie. He has appointed a subcommittee of colored citizens to arrange for the participation in this celebration of the colored population of Cleveland.

¶ The purpose of the Negro Organization Society of Virginia is to confederate all the organizations of the race in the State and focus their attention upon the purpose of improving the health, intelligence and morals of the race.

¶ The Afro-American Film Company has been incorporated under the laws of New York State and financed by the Negro Business Men's League of Philadelphia. The purpose of this company will be to give educational films especially applicable to Negroes.

¶ Twenty thousand colored Knights of Pythias participated in the parade in Baltimore at the seventeenth annual session of the supreme lodge.

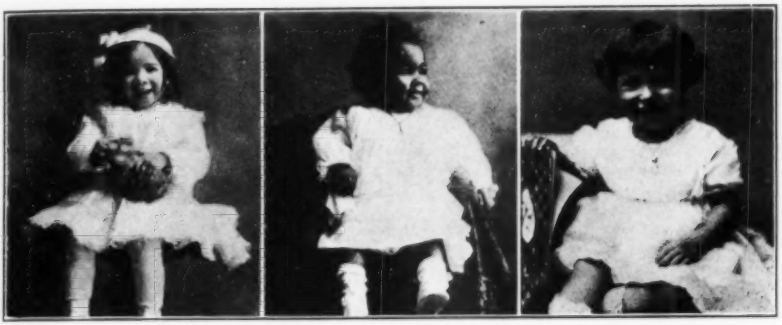
¶ The Salvation Army is planning to do work among the Negroes in the South through Negroes. Twelve colored graduates from the training school in New York will be sent South.

¶ The Eighth Infantry Illinois National Guard, under command of Col. John R. Marshall, was in camp at Springfield, Ill., the first week in September.

¶ The high court of the Ancient Order of Foresters met in Buffalo in September. This is the branch of the order which admits colored people and is the original English branch. The Foresters of America were expelled some years ago for drawing the color line.

EDUCATION.

A LAW has been passed in Florida prohibiting white teachers from teaching in colored schools, or colored teachers from teaching in white schools. Infractions will be punished by fine or imprisonment.



¶ A new compulsory school law goes into effect this fall in Tennessee, which will force 20,000 more colored children into the schools if it is as rigidly enforced upon the colored children as upon the white.

¶ Robert C. Ogden bequeathed $20,000 and a contingent interest in property, valued at $100,000, to Hampton Institute at Hampton, Va.

¶ Southern University, an agricultural and mechanical college, which was located for many years in New Orleans, has been moved into the country, two miles from Iberia, La., where there is a larger field for such work. Three hundred acres of land valued at $30,000 have been purchased, and the task of raising $20,000 now confronts the directors.

¶ William J. Decatur, a graduate of Atlanta University and now a teacher at Wilberforce University, has been elected principal of Manassas Industrial School, Va., to succeed Leslie Pinckney Hill, who becomes principal of Cheyney Institute, Pa.

¶ The United States Bureau of Education, in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, is making a comprehensive study of the private and higher schools for colored people.

¶ The attendance of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College for colored youth in Prairie View, Tex., must be reduced from 900 to 600 because of lack of funds.

¶ In Alabama the school property of the whites is valued at eleven times that of the colored, and while Negroes form 45 per cent. of the population, only 12 per cent. of the school fund is expended for Negroes.

¶ A history of the colored people of Geneva, N. Y., is being prepared by the citizens for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the emancipation proclamation.

¶ The Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, a State institution for Negroes in Mississippi, may be investigated because of alleged mismanagement.

¶ An alternative writ of mandamus against the board of education of Grant District, Hancock County, W. Va., for the education of colored children has been granted to Joshua Steele, a colored man whose five children, when the white teacher refused to instruct them, were sent to East Liverpool with a part of their expenses met by the board. When the board refused to contribute further to these expenses application was made for the writ, which compels the board to grant colored children of that district permission to attend the public schools or else appear before Judge Newman and show cause why they should not grant said request.

¶ The Amanda Smith Industrial School for orphan and dependent Negro girls has been opened this fall at North Harvey, Ill.

¶ Walter Dipon, a graduate of Fisk and Yale, took his master's degree at the August convocation at Chicago University.

MEETINGS.

THE Northeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs held their seventeenth annual convention at Cambridge in August. The convention was largely attended, and the mayor extended the courtesy of the city

by placing at the disposal of the delegates private cars to points of historic interest. The mayor of Boston entertained the delegates with a harbor excursion.

¶ The fifteenth annual session of the National Medical Association met in Nashville, Tenn., August 26-28. More than 500 delegates were present.

¶ The fourteenth annual meeting of the National Negro Business League took place in Philadelphia August 20-23. Thirty-six States were represented. Many subjects relating to the Negro in business were discussed. Mr. B. T. Washington, in his annual address, spoke of the great progress of the Negro in fifty years, and the need of the colored farmer in the South.

MUSIC AND ART.

A FEATURE of a morning program given at the third annual convention of the California Music Teachers' Association, during the week of July 16, was the presentation of Zuni Indian songs by Enid Watkins, accompanied by Carlos Troyer, the composer. At the concert given by the Sacramento Oratorio Society, under the musical and dramatic committee of California, "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast," by S. Coleridge-Taylor, was given.

¶ On June 17, at the Little Theatre, London, England, Kitty Cheatham, the American singer, gave at her last recital a brief talk on Negro music and excerpts from her repertory of Negro songs.

¶ The Welsh Choral Union of Liverpool, England, announce that the program of next season would include two parts of "Hiawatha" in honor of the memory of the late Coleridge-Taylor.

¶ A noteworthy event was the visit of 2,000 members of the Imperial Choir of London to the Ghent exhibition. They were assisted by an orchestra of 110 performers imported from Brussels. The program for June 1 included "On Away Awake, Beloved," sung by Ben Davies and the "picturesque chorus": "The Dome of Pleasures," from Kubla Kahn, by Coleridge-Taylor.

¶ Miss Mary L. Europe, the talented pianist of Washington, D. C., is taking a course in music at Columbia University, New York City.

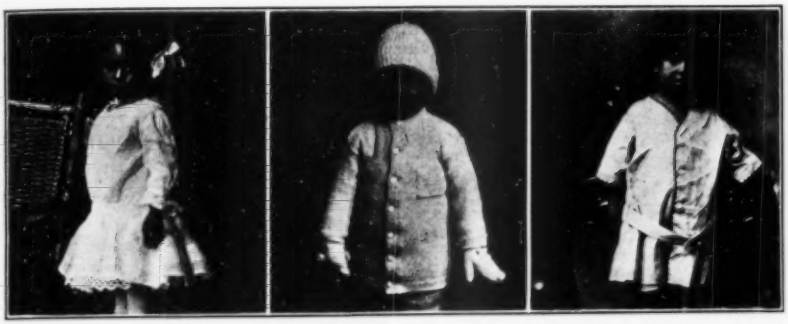
¶ A mysterious bust, discovered in the Boulevard de la Chappelle, in Paris, and for a long time unidentified, has been recognized by an American tourist as the late William Smith Garner, who dedicated his life and fortune to the defense of the colored people.

PERSONAL.

MISS CONSTANCE RIDLEY of Boston has been placed upon the stenographic staff of the Boston Children's Aid Society as a preliminary step in her course of social-service training.

¶ Negro blood was represented at the eighth international congress of students held at Ithaca, N. Y., August 29 to September 3, by the first colored member of the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club, who was also for three years an associate editor of the *Cosmopolitan Student*.

¶ David J. Dickerson, a colored waiter, lost his life while attempting to rescue Mrs. F. A. Keesing, a guest of the hotel, from drowning at Delaware Water Gap, Pa.



THE GHETTO.

TWO hundred white citizens of Richmond have signed a petition objecting to the building of a Negro church in their neighborhood.

¶ A resident of Highland Park, in Richmond, objects to a colored park "to clutter our entrance to Richmond."

¶ The white women of the Fulton Heights section of Jamaica, L. I., are fighting hard to keep colored people out.

¶ In spite of the vigorous objections of the people in North and Northeast Memphis, the city of Memphis has purchased Douglas Park for the use of the colored people.

¶ Vardaman again denounced the Negro in a recent speech in Washington. The Ku Klux, he says, was the greatest organization, excepting the church, that ever existed in this country. The speech brought wild cheers from the audience.

¶ The summer announcements for Columbia University stated directly that no accommodation would be provided for colored students in the dormitories.

¶ The colored people of Camden, N. J., have waged a successful fight to stop discrimination against colored children in public schools. One of their arguments was a copy of the Educational Number of THE CRISIS.

¶ Greenough, Ga., a thriving Negro village, has been dynamited by white men as the result of a dispute between a colored man and two white men.

¶ A Negro caterer has bought a fine house in Baltimore in the interim between the recent rejection of the new segregation ordinance by the Court of Appeals and its re-enactment by the city council in revised form.

¶ The white citizens of Wilmette, Ill., are organizing for the purpose of driving Negroes out of that suburb. Many colored employees have been discharged and others are threatened.

CRIME.

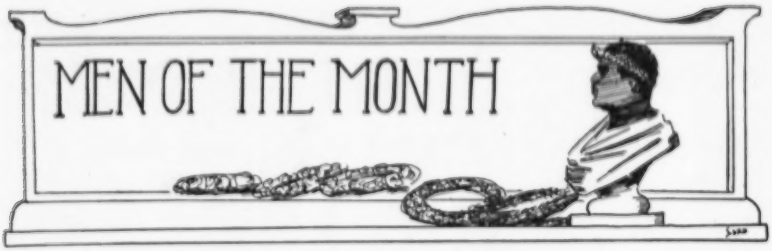
RECENT lynchings have occurred as follows:

¶ Near Paul's Valley, two Negroes—one for killing a white man in a dispute, the other for killing a white boy found in his watermelon patch. At Jennings, La., a Negro for assaulting an Italian. In Charlotte, N. C., a colored man for wounding a policeman. Near Birmingham, an unknown Negro; no facts in the case are known. At Laurens, a Negro charged with having attacked a white woman with criminal intent. At Dunbar, Ga., one Negro for wounding a white man. At Bartow, Fla., an escaped convict for assaulting a white woman. At Morgan, Ga., a colored man for killing two white men. At Akron, O., a Negro, as a "last warning" to the colored people who refused to move out of a white district.

¶ It has been recently revealed to the grand jury that thousands of dollars have been taken from Negroes in and around Atlanta, Ga., during the past year or so by illegal arrests.

¶ One policeman and five others have been arrested in connection with the recent lynching in Jennings, La.

¶ Leon Dayries surrendered to the sheriff in New Roads, La., after killing a Negro. He has been released on a $300 bond.



A FIGHTING EDITOR.

THE Cleveland *Gazette* of Cleveland, O., is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. Harry C. Smith, the editor, has been in newspaper work for thirty-five years, has been thirty years with the *Gazette*, and for twenty-five years its sole proprietor. This is in itself a record worth noting. Mr. Smith was born in West Virginia in 1863, but has lived in Cleveland since 1865, where he graduated from the Central High School. He has served three terms as a member of the Ohio legislature and was nominated the fourth time by the Republicans, receiving the second highest vote. During his term in the legislature he was instrumental in the passage of the Ohio civil-rights law, of which the Malby law in New York is a copy. His anti-lynching law is the most effective statute of its kind in the country. Mr. Smith is, however, best known as a chronic fighter; one who stands for what he thinks is right without fear or favor. He is for this reason often condemned and felt to be an uncomfortable critic, but his honesty of purpose is seldom questioned.

HARRY C. SMITH.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN W. M. APPLETON.

"MY FRIEND and comrade, Major B. G. Wilder, 55th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, sent me a copy of your July issue. I am interested in it. Every step that the colored man takes toward the higher and broader life is attended by my full sympathy and good wishes.

"I held the first commission in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry as second lieutenant and enlisted the first men. Was captain of a company, was promoted major to date, from July 18, 1863. My company was in the first line at Wagner, and I was near Colonel Shaw on the parapet when he fell. Lieutenant Homans and I were wounded that night. I was hurt again in 1864, and was sent North to die, but recovered, and entered service again early in 1865, serving until the end of the war. I have lived in West Virginia since 1865. My object in writing you is to let you know that 'the old captain' (as I was called, to distinguish between Capt. Tom L. Appleton and myself, he being a cousin of mine) is still living. I was the first officer commissioned and was older than most of them, being about 30. These young officers were a noble band of young patriots of clean lives and high aspirations. If I could spare the time I could give you interesting tales of those times. I hardly think that this letter I write you is of

GENERAL J. W. M. APPLETON.

general interest, but I must suggest that you could state that you had discovered me, the pioneer officer, now past 80, but hearty and active, leading an active, useful life. Of course I am a Republican, of the original 1860 brand, and stay so. I also send a photo taken when I was Adjutant-General of West Virginia, during the Spanish-American War. The letters you might hold for your own information, but use anything in them as you choose, not putting my writing forward too much. I have written an account of my service with the 54th Regiment to hand on to my children. I do not expect to publish it. Captain Emilio has given us a good regimental history already."

A GIRL OF PROMISE.

MISS FLORENCE GREENWOOD, one of the honor students in the last graduating class of Atlanta University, died from a stroke received during a severe electric storm which passed over Atlanta early last month. Miss Greenwood, the fifth child of a well-known Atlanta family to graduate from Atlanta University, was a young woman of great promise who had made an enviable record throughout her school career. The large number of floral tributes gave evidence of the high esteem in which she was held. THE CRISIS tenders its condolence to the bereaved family.

A REMARKABLE CHILD!

ENCLOSED you will find a picture of my boy at the age of 6 months.

His mother, of course, knows that he'd take the prize in any competition, and while I agree with her in "private," my public attitude is one of becoming modesty.

Of course, I know he's an unusual child. Even his grandmother agrees with me in that. She said he was very much like me when I was his age.

Then he has a wonderful mind. No child ever had greater. The doctor brought it to my attention on the day of his birth. Said he: "This is the brightest child I've known in all my long professional career." That doctor was one of the best doctors I ever knew. And in spite of his abilities, his bills were no larger than the ordinary doctor's were.

Interested neighbors brought into use adjectives of all degrees to give vent to their excess of admiration. Most of them

THE LATE FLORENCE GREENWOOD.

were women who had seen many babies in their lives, but all of them agreed in declaring the child the most wonderful they had ever seen. Their descriptive expressions ranged from "cutest" to "most perfectly beautiful."

Through it all the youngster never altered his attitude of complaisant indifference. Not one sign of vanity did he show, which only substantiated the doctor's opinion as to his most wonderfully balanced mind.

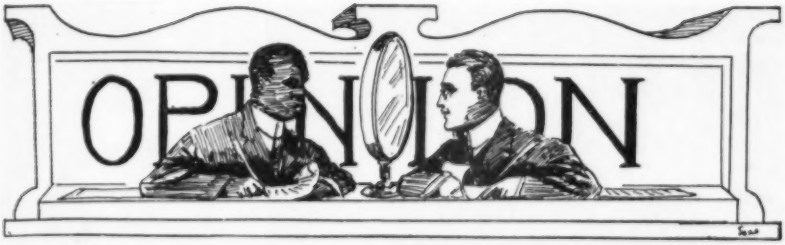
Now I say all this because I don't want you to get this baby mixed with any of the other babies, and so that you will be better able to judge, without prejudice, what a handsome young man he is.

Now, furthermore, but not least, don't forget to send the picture back, for it is the only one we have. My wife gave every neighbor one who asked for it, and to those who didn't ask she gave one also. So you see this is the only one remaining. Stamps are enclosed for its return. I give you permission to publish it and shall do anything, at any time, like this to aid you in increasing your circulation.

Very truly yours,
THE FOND FATHER.

[The editor was pressed for space and overwhelmed with baby faces, but he could not resist the above and hereby apologizes to all other fathers and mothers. He assures them that those left over will appear in 1914 without fail, unless new babies crowd them out.]

SOME BALTIMORE LASSIES.



THE PROTEST. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has sent a protest to President Wilson on Federal race discrimination which has received wide publicity.

Some of the facts which called out this protest are set forth in La Follette's:

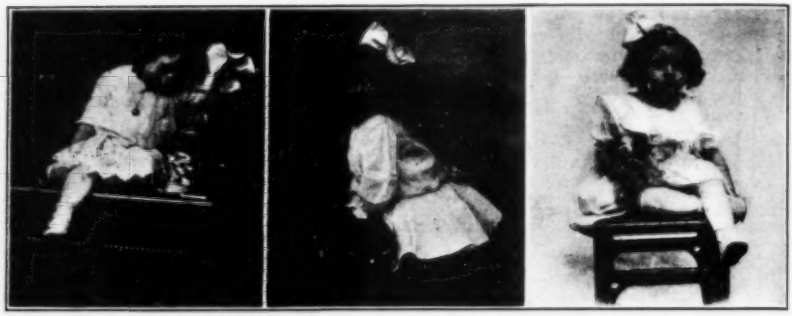
"There have been various rumors afloat in Washington for some time as to the segregation of employees in the government service. A few days ago Senator Clapp introduced a resolution asking for the facts as to segregation of the races in the Postoffice Department.

"Some weeks ago I received a letter from Miss Nannie Burroughs, president of the National Training School for Women and Girls—owned and operated by the woman's convention, auxiliary to national Baptist convention—pleading for justice to the colored people and protesting against the segregation being instituted in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

"I wrote the Secretary of the Treasury for the facts. Omitting the formalities of the correspondence, I give the memorandum to him forwarded to me from the director of the bureau in so far as it relates to segregation of the women, leaving out a part.

"'MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAMS.

"'In compliance with your request for a memorandum relative to the enclosed letter from Mrs. Belle C. La Follette, asking to know whether or not it is a fact that an order to segregate the races at the Bureau



of Engraving and Printing has been put into effect, and that another order to exclude colored girls from lunchrooms has also been put into effect, I have the honor to state that no such general order has been issued in this bureau. It is a fact, however, that in the lunchrooms used by the printers' assistants, many of whom are colored, and where there are six tables, two of the tables were assigned especially for the use of the colored girls for the reason that it is believed that it would be better for them to associate together when eating their lunches. The colored assistants are permitted free access to the lunchrooms and are served the same food as that furnished the white assistants, and there have been no objections on the part of the colored girls to using the tables assigned them, except on the part of three colored assistants who persisted in sitting at the tables occupied by white girls after one or two of the white girls had made an objection to them occupying the same tables. A kindly suggestion was made to them that it would be best for them to occupy tables with girls of their own race, but as they persisted in disregarding the suggestion it was necessary for me to give them positive directions to use the tables assigned to the colored assistants.'"

The editor interviewed the three girls and continues:

"One of the girls was a graduate of both the high school and normal school of Washington. Another had gone through the second-year high school; the other was educated at some seminary in a Southern State. They had received their appointments under the civil service, which, bear in mind, precludes any knowledge of whether they are black or white. They had been employed in the bureau, two of them for eleven years, one for nine. They had been accustomed to buy their lunches and eat them at any vacant seat. I understood them to say, however, that they never forced themselves into white company. Usually they sat by themselves, but sometimes the white girls did not mind sitting next to them. A change was made in the table arrangements. A woman, not in authority over them, according to the girls' statement, suggested that they occupy a table by themselves. Reply was made that if the order came from the director it would be heeded, but in the absence of such an order from him, that so long as the food was paid for, they should be entitled to eat it in any seat not occupied. A second suggestion was made to them by a colored male employee who likewise, as the girls believed, had no authority over them. And answer was made to him by the girls that the order should come from the director.

"Following this on a certain day, the director called up two of the girls. A woman prominent socially and in civic work was present. She talked to them about the advisability of colored girls eating by themselves in their own lunchroom. One of them answered her that the colored girls had no lunchroom; that there was only the waiting room, off from which were the toilets; they said they could bring their lunch, but would buy no food in the lunchroom if not permitted to eat it there. When I asked the girls if they were still eating in the lunchroom, one said: 'No, it was no use trying. Our food choked us.'

Another explained that when they saw the employees were being segregated in the workrooms they thought that if that could be done, of course they had the right to segregate them in the lunchroom."

A few days after this editorial was written one of the girls, Miss R. A. Murraye, was dismissed from her position on a technical charge of insubordination.

A strong note of disapproval can be read in many of the comments on this whole situation. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* says of the protest:

"It is an appeal which should be heard from a sense of propriety and fairness. Men and women should not be discriminated against by a government whose laws guarantee equality in citizenship to all. Once the stress of affairs, now heavy upon him, has lessened somewhat, the President could do no better than cause a revocation of the hateful orders which have caused race prejudice to become senselessly inflamed again."

Zion *Herald* calls it contemptible race prejudice, and remarks:

"The nation as a whole does not favor this drawing the color line in our national government. It is unchristian, unmanly and un-American, and should not be allowed to continue. Time was when such an action as this would have been the subject for strenuous protest on the part of the minority members of Congress. No resolution of censure has yet been introduced, simply because there is less partisanship than there once was. But the voice of the nation cannot but be raised against such an iniquitous and entirely unjust act."

The Chicago *News* declares "a 'Jim Crow' form of government makes no appeal to fair-minded Americans."

Many papers, like the Indianapolis *News*, stress the fact that the whole movement is undemocratic:

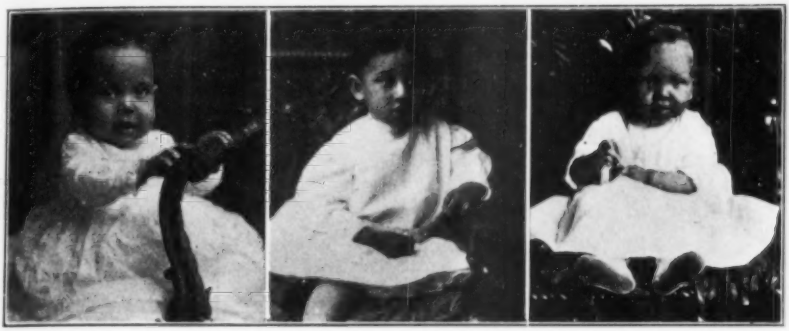
"We are in entire sympathy with the vigorous but respectful protest of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the present policy of segregating colored employees in the departments at Washington. Whatever the different States may do, the Federal government cannot properly discriminate among its employees. It professes to be a government of all the people; its cost is paid by all the people; and its battles have been fought by all the people. If we are going to have democracy in this country we shall have to make up our minds that we can have it only on the condition that all citizens be subjected to the same political treatment. A democracy for white men alone is no democracy."

The Fall River (Mass.) *Herald* says:

"If anywhere the principles of the Constitution are to be religiously observed, one would expect such observance first in the capital of the nation. And yet, judged by the tone of recent dispatches from Washington, there is a disposition in some departments there to discriminate against certain civilian employees because they happen to be Negroes. There ought to be some other measure than the color of a man's skin to indicate the permanancy of one's position or one's advancement in the public service."

Many papers are content to dismiss the matter with the remark that this is all one can expect of the Democratic party.

"OF SUCH IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN."



The *Independent* says, for instance:

"What else could have been expected? The South is the Sedan of the Democratic party, and the Democratic South does not believe in Negro equality. The Republican party, when in control, has remembered just enough of its history not to deny that the Negroes are both human beings and American citizens, as well as the best of us. The ruling South believes that the ballot ought not to have been given to the Negro, and it wants all the offices for white men, who only ought to be voters. A Negro bishop and a number of Negro editors are now, we imagine, having occasion to take notice."

And it goes on to remark:

"Is this what was meant in the Democratic platform by the 'reorganization of the civil service?' We know perfectly well that the South is running the government at present, and we do not complain, for the strength of the party is in the South, and it has the right and power to rule; but we insist that if this is the sort of 'fair play' which a Democratic administration shall give us, it has ceased to be Democratic. It is white oligarchy that is miscalled Democracy.

"If we may fairly regard this effort to secure a segregation of the Negroes at present in the civil service, and the exclusion of them in the future, we must not fail to remember that such exclusion is not confined to the South. For example, we know the case of a colored girl, who stood high in her class in the Albany Normal School, who was advised by one very high in the service of the board of regents of the State of New York to leave the school because, however good her scholarship, she would never be marked high enough to graduate. She was recommended to another school, and is now teaching in the South. There was no place for her in New York. That was quite as bad as what is proposed in Washington, if not meaner and worse."

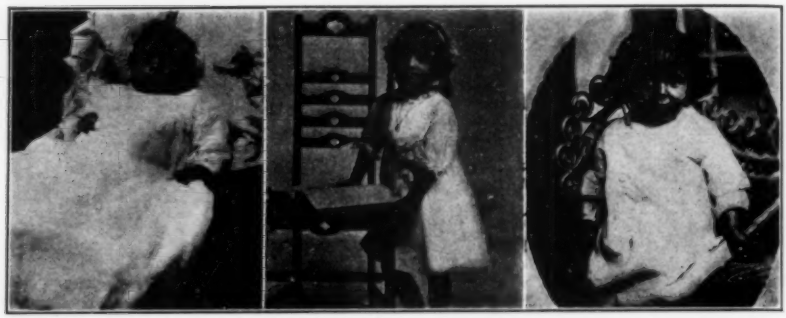
The Munsey (Ind.) *Star* says:

"This is but one of many signs shown since the advent of the present administration that the Negro-hating element is strong in it. There is an evident intention to shove aspiring colored men into the background and to give them little encouragement as fellow citizens."

Other papers still have faith in Wilson, although admitting the difficulty of his position.

The Waterbury *American* writes:

"The argument of the protest is also obvious, that it puts a stigma on the Negro, retards his development along American lines, and, in the end, will prevent worthy and competent representatives of the race from entering the government service, which, of course, they have the same theoretical right to enter as has any other American citizen. We shall watch with interest to see how far this appeal carries with President Wilson, who, of course, must, through his Southern ancestry, sympathize to a large extent with the Southern view and the Southern policy on the Negro question. Broad as he is, and long as he has lived in a Northern environment, he must retain, to a certain extent, the prejudice of his birth, the traditions of the white race of the South. Once having started a policy of this sort, it would also probably be politically costly to reverse it. His



Southern supporters, on whom he must depend the most for carrying through his policies, would resent very much his change of a Negro policy because of pressure from sentimental Negro lovers in the North, especially in Massachusetts.

"Thus the question of what the President does in this case is not only a question of ideals, it is a question of very practical politics. We have no predictions to make, and are not sure what any other President of like descent, facing like conditions, would do with the Storey protest. But it is unfortunate that President Wilson permitted the departure from what has been the ordinary method of the government since Negroes were first admitted to its roll of employees, and thus raised the issue unnecessarily."

The Chicago *Evening Post* says:

"Thus far Mr. Wilson has not appointed a single colored man to public office—not even to those which have hitherto gone to the colored race. As we tried to suggest, this may be of little practical importance to the progress of the race, but it has a very considerable sentimental value in a democracy. But more important than the gift of public office is the question whether the colored employees of the government shall be 'Jim Crowed' at the dictation of Southern officeholders. This is plainly fundamental.

"For if we have learned anything in fifty years, surely it is that the 'Jim Crow' or 'Ghetto' solution is no solution of the race problem in a democracy. Its psychology is medieval instead of modern; it is compulsory and restrictive instead of free and expansive; it increases friction by stimulating people's sense of caste and by suggesting continually new points of 'social contamination.' It would inevitably make of our engaging 'New Freedom' a mockery indeed."

"The fact and the portent are extremely unpleasant," remarks the Chicago *Tribune:*

"Is the Democratic party, which in its platforms makes so great a claim to represent the rights of man and the interests of the common people, to adopt at Washington the most reactionary of policies? It would be a piece of historic irony if in the semi-centennial year of emancipation a party pretending to be devoted to the author and principles of the Declaration of Independence should apply the 'Jim Crow' policy under the flag of the capital.

"It does not seem probable that the President will approve of such a step backward."

And the Springfield *Republican* thus concludes a strong editorial:

"The Wilson administration was sure to confront issues of this character. For years, under Republican administrations, there was a steady weakening of the safeguards for the protection of Negro rights. It is a significant commentary upon Republican concern for the colored race at this time that no Republican Congressman has introduced a resolution of inquiry or of censure relating to the Negro segregation in the departments. Had this thing happened during one of the Cleveland administrations the Republican attacks would have been fast and furious. But the President cannot afford to forget his obligation to protect this class of citizens, simply because there is less partisan insistence than formerly upon the maintenance of the political and civic equality of the races. It is his

duty to resist anti-Negro aggression in Federal affairs. An executive order abolishing the segregation system that has so suddenly sprang up would do the President great credit and reassure the colored race."

The *Independent* adds:

"We are amazed and ashamed that this new and insulting order should now have been promulgated. We wonder that Southern influence should have dared to risk the result of it, if it did not mind the injustice of it. It is an act that ought to excite opposition and condemnation much more serious than any tariff policy that divides the parties; for this is not a matter of money merely, it is a matter of justice, of equal rights, of fair play, to men and women, as worthy of consideration as the best of us. These colored people, who are thus set apart as unfit to be in the same room as their fellow servants of the country, are human beings, they are not pariahs. Those who insult them, who refuse to give them an equal chance with themselves, lack not merely the instincts of ladies and gentlemen, but the sense of justice which is at the basis of a free and equal government. President Wilson will do a righteous act if he interdicts this discrimination against American citizens. He has spoken well for the Jews in Roumania. Will he not say a noble word for Negroes in his own country, who are under his own orders, his own protection?"

THE INEVITABLE DILEMMA.

An anonymous writer in the Boston *Herald* has been explaining Southern matters to the North, and concludes one article in this way:

"This issue is as bewildering as it ever was. One must be appalled by the cruelties of our nation's treatment of the black man. These recall the words of Jefferson on another phase of the same question: 'I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just.' The sage of Monticello was never more prophetic. One could almost catch in his vision of the future the inspired words of a still greater prophet of Democracy: 'If all the wealth piled up by the unrequited toil of the bondmen—if every drop of blood drawn by the lash be atoned by blood drawn by the sword—thy judgments, O God, are true and righteous altogether.'

"And still the other question persists as to the integrity of the white blood. Can that be maintained without a frowning attitude on the part of its possessors toward all outsiders? If not, how deep and dark must be the frown? And can we be decent as men while wearing the frown?"

The answer is clear. We cannot be decent and we are not; all of which argues that an "integrity" which must be bought at the expense of civilization is much too costly to enjoy.

THE DANGER OF THE BALLOT.

This delicious thing comes from the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph:*

"A woman suffragette of Carrollton, Miss., writing to the *Commercial Appeal*, in reply to the question, 'Do the white women of Mississippi want to bring back Negro rule?' makes answer thus: 'Not in Mississippi. The same constitution in Mississippi that gives the suffrage for men will control that of women, so if Negro

men are rarely seen at the voting precincts, why fear the Negro women?'

"The writer is filled with a serene self-complacency over her reply. She has the same delusion that the present status will prevail as do all the suffragettes of the Southern leagues, overlooking the new amendment for woman's suffrage. Would that it were true. But not so. The present status operates under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and it took years before the Negro men were 'rarely seen at the voting booths.' Back taxes accumulated. The Republican party at the South went into 'innocuous desuetude,' and the big corporations North ceased to pay the Negro men's taxes. Put a premium on their votes, as Mr. Bryan proposes in the proposition to elect Presidents by the people at large, and the votes of these Negro men will become valuable, and rich corporations and big interests will pay their back dues and qualify them for the ballot.

"As for the Negro women, they will owe no back taxes; and under the proposed nationalization of the government, abolishing State lines in Presidential elections, their taxes, as due, will be paid as the needs of outside 'interests' demand. Added to the perplexities of the election of Presidents by the people, Mr. Bryan's new 'reform' will be Colonel Roosevelt's national referendum, also obliterating State lines. How the combat deepens!"

RELIGION AND POETRY.

The Rev. Duncan Milner evidently thinks that American Christians really take the "Golden Rule" seriously. He has recently preached on the subject.

"One of the most conspicuous violations of the Golden Rule in this free land of ours, resting on the Declaration of Independence, which says all men are created equal, is connected with the race question," said Mr. Milner. "As Christians we claim that in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female. In practice there is much of the old spirit that all people not of our nation or color are Gentiles and barbarians. Suppose men were saying: 'If I had been born with a black or yellow or red skin, how would I want white people to treat me?'"

What the Negro thinks about it is shown in this poem:

AT THE CLOSED GATE OF JUSTICE.

JAMES D. CORROTHERS in the *Century*.

To be a Negro in a day like this
  Demands forgiveness. Bruised with blow on blow,
Betrayed, like him whose woe-dimmed eyes gave bliss,
  Still must one succor those who brought one low,
To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this
  Demands rare patience—patience that can wait
In utter darkness. 'T is the path to miss,
  And knock, unheeded, at an iron gate,
To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this
  Demands strange loyalty. We serve a flag
Which is to us white freedom's emphasis.
  Ah! one must love when truth and justice lag,
To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this—
  Alas! Lord God, what evil have we done?
Still shines the gate, all gold and amethyst,
  But I pass by, the glorious goal unwon,
"Merely a Negro"—in a day like *this!*

LYNCHING. Lynching has gotten to the joke stage. The New York *Sun* laughs this way:

"There was a mob in Spartanburg, S. C., the other night, a gathering of brave and spirited 'Anglo-Saxons' out for a social evening. A lynching bee; going to 'hang the Nigger.' He was in the jail charged, only charged, mind you, with assault on a white woman; hadn't even been identified by her; in short, a suspect, guilty of being colored. The sheriff of the county, William J. White, was in the jail, knew there was going to be trouble, telegraphed that illustrious statesman and pillar of the law, Cole Blease, governor. Blease can always put in his little jest at the right moment. Blease telegraphed that he would oblige by having the case tried at a special term of court called on September 1. Why should Governor Blease interfere with the pleasures of a bold and chivalrous people?

"The wool-hat chivalry smashes in the jail gate, tosses dynamite over the wall. Sheriff White (by the way, he has a wife and a couple of sick children in the jail) steps forward into the place where the gate was. He has a gun; likewise a certain quiet resolution; speaks a little piece:

"'Gentlemen, I hate to do it, but so help me God I am going to kill the first man that enters.'

"Nobody in that press of heroes cared to be that first man. 'He means it, boys,' said somebody in the crowd. He did mean it. Nobody dared to come in. The crowd wilted.

"William J. White will never be re-elected, we take it. He has killed himself politically by saving the life of that 'Nigger.'

"Honor, beyond the breath of mobs or the votes of cowards, to that man of unshaken physical and moral courage!"

The Penn Yan (N. Y.) *Express* smiles:

"It is now known that a Negro who was recently lynched in Georgia because he was suspected of having committed a serious crime was innocent. But that matters little in the estimation of the high-toned gentlemen of the South. The Negro may have been guilty of some other offense; or, if he had lived, he might have committed some crime as serious as that with which he was erroneously charged. Verily, this is the land of the free and the home of the brave, and our government protects its subjects—when living in foreign countries."

The Mobile *Item* is a bit more sober because it knows a scapegoat:

"An innocent Negro was lynched by a mob of the usual 'best citizens' at a town in Georgia on Tuesday, as the murderer of a wealthy planter. On the following day the real murderer was arrested and confessed the crime. A few hours after the lynching those who participated in it found evidence of the innocence of the Negro which would have been available to them when he was alive if they had made any effort to look for it. But mob law does not look for evidence—it wants a victim. In the frenzy of revenge the mob strikes first and thinks afterward.

"The lynching of the Georgia Negro who had committed no crime is a commentary upon the utterances of such men as Governor Blease and Senator Vardaman, who would apply mob law to Negroes for felonious assaults on white women or children and attempt to draw the line there."

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM. Fred. A. Houston, a railway mail clerk at Sacramento, Cal., received from the district superintendent at San Francisco a letter reading:

> I have before me several cases regarding the unsatisfactory manner in which you perform the duties of your assignment. I also have several specific cases showing carelessness, lack of judgment and failure to perform duties of your assignment unless specifically told to do so in each instance. In addition to these your examination record is far below the average for this division. My purpose in writing to you is to inform you that it is my intention to recommend to the department that you be separated from this service. You will be given ten days in which to make any reply necessary why such action should not be taken.
>
> Very respectfully,
>
> A. H. STEPHENS, *Supt.*
> Per EDW. MCGRATH.

Mr. Houston's average for the ten examinations from August 25, 1911, when he entered the service with a mark of 96.88, to June 30, 1913, when he received 99.88, is 98.6. On July 3, 1913, he was "separated from the service," as he had not been able to make the "necessary reply why such action should not be taken" by the Negro-hating superior officials who could not, we fancy, write a letter like the account which

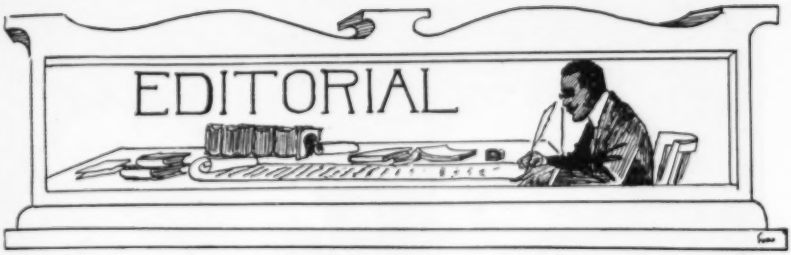
this young man sends us of his experience. Our only regret is that his hope for justice at Washington is misplaced:

For many years civil service or appointive positions under the United States government have been considered the highest and most exemplary kind of employment for Afro-Americans, possibly so because of the generally accepted idea that such employment was free from the prejudice and oppression so common among private employers. Of recent years, however, prejudice of a most virulent form has shown itself and from personal acquaintance with men in almost every branch of the service it has become a recognized menace in all the departments generally. While such actions may not be sanctioned by the heads of the department at Washington, petty officials in different districts and divisions with whom a person comes in direct contact are perfectly free to discriminate, issue orders or assignments of a discriminatory character as the case may be whenever their will dictates. The narration of my own experiences will, I trust, be of general interest to government employees and railway mail clerks in particular. I might here add that the treatment accorded me could not possibly have been in retaliation for any political activities on my part, for I just reached my majority February 17 last, hence have taken no active part in politics.

In explanation of the signatures to the correspondence above, the A. H. Stephens mentioned has since become general superintendent R. M. S., and Mr. McGrath has become division superintendent, the position made vacant by Mr. Stephens. It was during Mr. Stephens' absence, however, that I received the communication and I doubt if any such action would have been taken had he been in the office at that time, as Mr. Stephens had always impressed me as a very broad-minded man in both character and principle. The disadvantage in answering this correspondence is readily apparent, inasmuch as the complaint does not specify any particular charge nor when it occurred. In the absence of the original papers in the case, my request for them being turned down, I felt certain that I was to be removed no matter what my defense might be. However, I answered to the best of my ability, clearly setting forth my side of the affair, mentioning working conditions, length of time in service and, among other things, my intention to do my work conscientiously and willingly at all times. I do not contend that my record was perfect, but considering length of time in the service, I know to a certainty that it could not have been worse than that of the average clerk. I concluded my reply by asking that I be transferred to a railway post-office or postoffice in another division, but as a last resort requested to be allowed to resign, all of these requests being turned down. Now it is my contention that before an unbiased or unprejudiced person or persons the allegations mentioned in the acting superintendent's letter did not constitute sufficient and justifiable cause for my removal, and further, that I should have been allowed to transfer, or at least be given opportunity to resign. I believe any reasonably fair-minded person would have consented to one of these requests. My examination record is as follows:

Date of Examination	Percentage
August 25, 1911	96.88
October 2, 1911	98.14
October 23, 1911	97.81
February 7, 1912	97.93
March 7, 1912	100.00
September 6, 1912	98.57
November 16, 1912	97.57
December 18, 1912	99.58
April 8, 1913	99.64
June 30, 1913	99.88

Of course charges of this kind must always be made by the superior officer under whose direct supervision a clerk must work. In my case charges were first reported by Dan C. Pettebone, chief clerk, who I understand is now connected with the railway mail service of Washington, D. C. I doubt, however, if my replies or other papers in the case were submitted to the departmental office as is the proper procedure in removals or suspensions. When it becomes so that a petty official may at his own discretion make charges against an employee for personal dislike or for other causes of a purely personal nature with the added assurance that such recommendation is all that is necessary to accomplish the removal of the object of his wrath and not for reasons affecting his ability for the position he fills, unless some action or protest is made to champion the rights of industrial equality for the thousands of colored government employees, the government service, long recognized as the standard of honesty, fairness and squareness to all its employees, will soon drop to a lower level than that of the private employer.



THE PRINCESS OF THE HITHER ISLES.

HER soul was very beautiful, wherefore she kept it veiled in lightly laced Humility and Fear, out of which peered anxiously ever and anon the white and blue and pale gold of her face—beautiful as daybreak or as the laughing of a child. She sat in the Hither Isles, well walled between the This and Now, upon a low and silver throne and leaned upon its armposts sadly looking upward toward the sun. Now the Hither Isles are flat and cold and swampy, with drear drab light and all manner of slimy, creeping things, and piles of dirt and clouds of flying dust and sordid scraping and feeding and noise.

She hated them; and ever as her hands and busy feet swept back the dust and slime, her soul sat silent, silver throned, staring toward the great hill to westward, which shone so brilliant golden beneath the sunlight and above the sea.

The sea moaned and with it moaned the Princess' soul, for she was lonely; very, very lonely, and full weary of the monotone of life. So she was glad to see a moving in Yonder Kingdom on the mountain side where the sun shone warm, and when the King of Yonder Kingdom, silken in robe and golden crowned, warded by his hound, walked down along the restless waters and sat beside the armpost of her throne, she wondered why she could not love him and fly with him up the shining mountain's side out of the dirt and dust that nested between This and Now. She looked at him and tried to be glad, for he was bonny and good to look upon, this King of Yonder Kingdom: tall and straight, thin lipped and white and tawny. So again this last day she strove to burn life into his singularly sodden clay—to put his icy soul aflame wherewith to warm her own, to set his senses singing. Vacantly he heard her winged words, staring and curling his long mustaches with vast thoughtfulness. Then he said:

"We've found more gold in Yonder Kingdom."

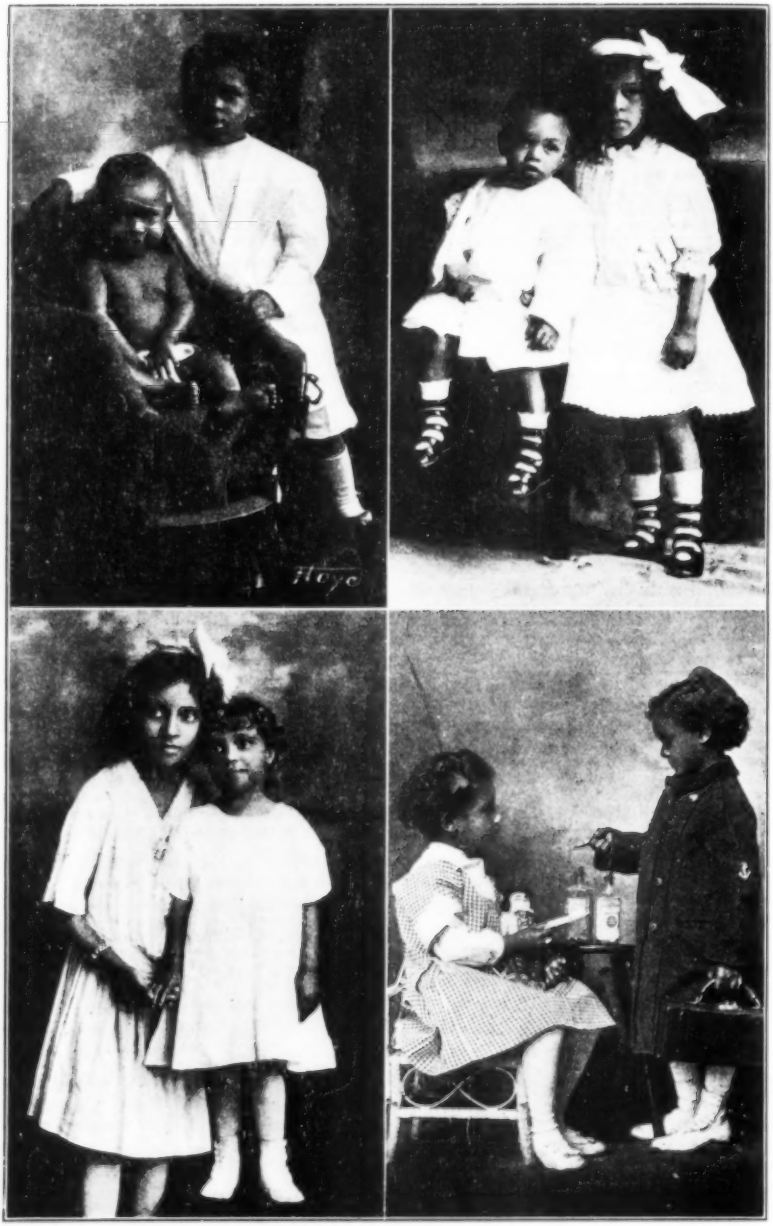
"Hell seize your gold!" blurted the Princess.

"No — it's mine," he maintained stolidly.

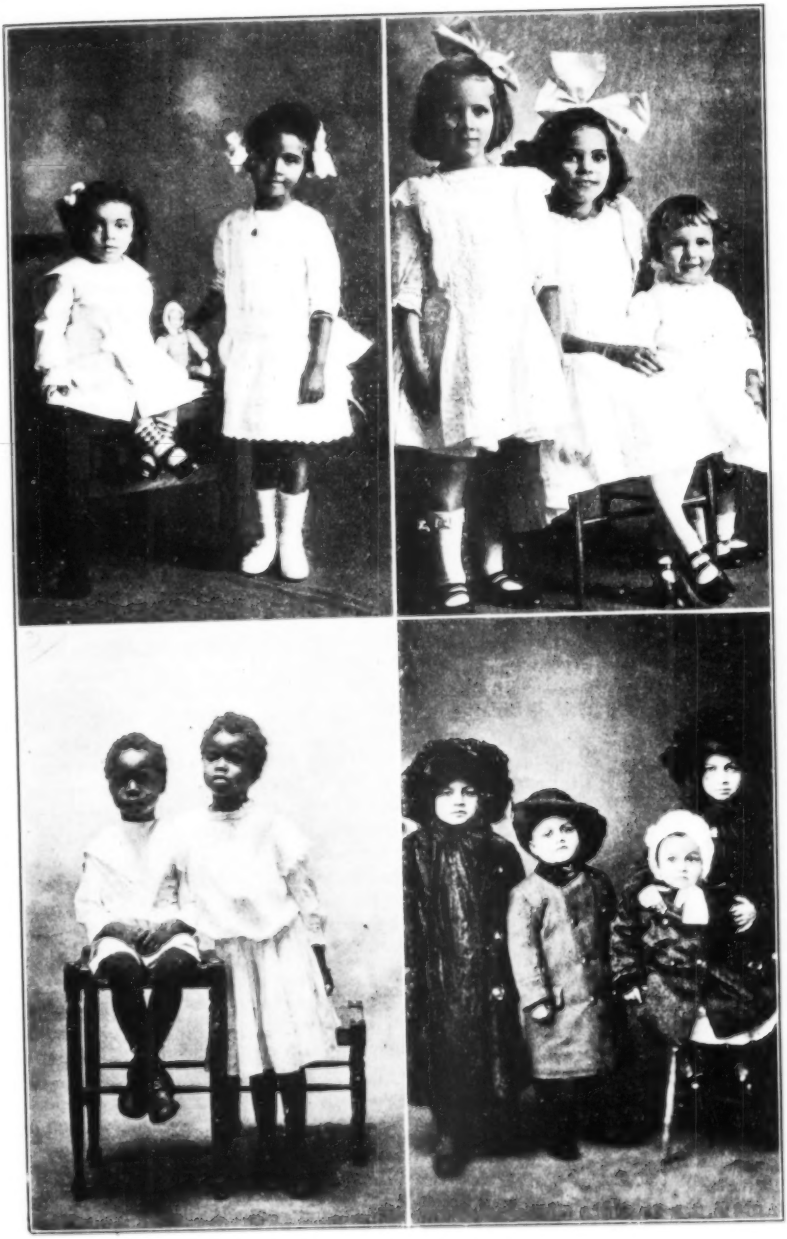
She raised her eyes. "It belongs," she said, "to the Empire of the Sun."

"Nay—the sun belongs to us," said the King calmly, as he glanced to where Yonder Kingdom blushed above the sea. She glanced, too, and a softness crept into her eyes.

"No, no," she murmured, as with hesitating pause she raised her eyes above the sea, above the hill, up into the sky where the sun hung silent, splendid. Its robes were heaven's blue, lined and broidered in living flame, and its crown was one vast jewel glistening in glittering glory that made the sun's own face a blackness—the blackness of utter light. With blinded, tear-filled eyes she peered into that formless black and burning face and sensed in its soft,



SHADOWS OF THE VEIL.



THE FOUR SEASONS.

sad gleam unfathomed understanding. With sudden wild abandon she stretched her arms toward it appealing, beseeching, entreating, and lo!

"Niggers and dagoes," said the King of Yonder Kingdom, glancing carelessly backward and lighting in his lips a carefully rolled wisp of fragrant tobacco. She looked back, too, but in half-wondering terror, for it seemed—

A Beggar man was creeping across the swamp, shuffling through the dirt and slime. He was little and bald and black, rough clothed, sooted with dirt and bent with toil. Yet withal something she sensed about him, and it seemed—

The King of Yonder Kingdom lounged more comfortably beside the silver throne and let curl a tiny trail of light blue smoke.

"I hate Beggars," he said, "especially brown and black ones." And he then pointed at the Beggar's retinue and laughed—an unpleasant laugh welded of contempt and amusement. The Princess looked and shrank on her throne. He the Beggar man was—was what? But his retinue, that squalid, sordid parti-colored band of vacant, dull-faced filth and viciousness, was writhing over the land, and he and they seemed almost crouching underneath the scorpion lash of one tall skeleton that looked like Death, and the twisted woman whom men call Pain. Yet they all walked as One.

The King of Yonder Kingdom laughed, but the Princess shrank on her throne and the King seeing her took a gold piece from out his purse and tossed it carelessly to the passing throng. She watched it with fascinated eyes—how it rose and sailed and whirled and struggled in the air; then seemed to burst, and upward flew its sunlight and its sheen and downward dropped its dross. She glanced at the King, but he was lighting a match. She watched the dross wallow in the slime, but the sunlight fell on the back of the Beggar's neck and he turned his head.

The Beggar, passing afar, turned his head, and the Princess straightened on her throne; he turned his head, and she shivered forward on her silver seat; he looked upon her full and slow and suddenly she saw within that formless black and burning face the same soft, sad gleam of utter understanding seen so many times before. She saw the suffering of endless years and endless love that softened it. She saw the burning passion of the sun and with it the cold unbending duty-deeds of upper air. All she had seen and dreamed of seeing in the rising, blazing sun she saw now again, and with it myriads more of human tenderness, of longing and of love. So then she knew. So then she rose as to a dream come true with solemn face and waiting eyes.

With her rose the King of Yonder Kingdom, almost eagerly.

"You'll come?" he cried. "You'll come and see my gold?" And then in sudden generosity he added: "You'll have a golden throne—up there, when we marry."

But she, looking up and on with radiant face, answered softly: "I come."

So down and up and on they mounted; the black Beggar and his cavalcade of Death and Pain, and then a space; and then a lone black hound that nosed and whimpered as he ran, and then a space; and then the King of Yonder Kingdom in his robes, and then a space; and last the Princess of the Hither Isles, with face set sunward and lovelight in her eyes.

And so they marched and struggled on and up through endless years and spaces, and ever the black Beggar looked back past Death and Pain toward the maid, and ever the maid strove forward with lovelit eyes, but ever the great and silken shoulders of the King of Yonder Kingdom rose between the Princess and the sun like a cloud of storms.

Now finally they neared unto the hillside's topmost shoulder, and there

most eagerly the King bent to the bowels of the earth and bared its golden entrails —all green and gray and rusted—while the Princess strained her pitiful eyes aloft to where the Beggar, set 'twixt Death and Pain, whirled his slim back against the glory of the setting sun and stood, sombre in his grave majesty, enhaloed and transfigured, outstretching his long arms; and, around all Heaven, glittered jewels in a cloth of gold.

A while the Princess stood and moaned in mad amaze, then with one wilful wrench she bared the white flowers of her breast and snatching forth her own red heart held it with one hand aloft while with the other she gathered close her robe and poised herself.

The King of Yonder Kingdom looked upward quickly, curiously, still fingering the earth, and saw the offer of her bleeding heart.

"It's a Nigger," he growled darkly; "it may not be."

The woman quivered.

"It's a Nigger," he repeated fiercely. "It's neither God nor Man, but a Nigger."

The Princess stepped forward.

The King grasped his great sword and looked north and east; he raised his long sword and looked south and west.

"I seek the sun," the Princess sang, and started into the west.

"Never!" cried the King of Yonder Kingdom, "for such were blasphemy and defilement and the making of all evil."

So raising his great sword he struck with all his might and more. Down hissed the blow and bit that little white heart-holding hand till it flew armless and disbodied up through the sunlit air. Down hissed the blow and clove the whimpering hound till his last shriek shook the stars. Down hissed the blow and rent the earth. It trembled, fell apart and yawned to a chasm wide as earth from Heaven, deep as hell, and empty, cold and silent.

On yonder distant shore blazed the mighty Empire of the Sun in warm and blissful radiance; while on this side, in shadows cold and dark, gloomed the Hither Isles and the hill that once was golden but now was green and slimy dross; all below was the sad and moaning sea, while between the Here and There flew the severed hand and dripped the bleeding heart.

Then up from the soul of the Princess welled a cry of dark despair—such cry as only babe-raped mothers know, and murdered loves. Poised on the crumbling edge of that great nothingness the Princess hung, hungering with her eyes and straining her fainting ears against the awful splendor of the sky.

Out from the slime and shadows groped the King, thundering: "Back—don't be a fool!"

But down through the thin ether thrilled the still and throbbing warmth of heaven's sun whispering "Leap!"

And the Princess leapt.

THE SLATER BOARD.

THE trustees of the John F. Slater Fund have begun a new work which will be appreciated by all friends of the Negro race in America. For a long time the Slater board has given its chief attention to industrial training. The colored people have appreciated this, but they have seen the incompleteness of this program. They have hoped that a national board, which demands efficient training in industrial and common school work, would give more and more attention to the training of men and women who can teach these branches and teach the teachers.

Consider, for instance, the proposed program of the new State supervisor of rural and elementary schools in Georgia. He proposes, the papers say, to train Negro children as servants and agricultural laborers, to develop in them a "fixity" of determination to do this work and presumably to have little

ambition beyond. Now the difficulty with this program is that it will need especially well-trained teachers to carry it through, and in Georgia these teachers must be colored teachers. On the other hand, the colored people themselves would by no means accept such a program. They demand well-trained colored teachers for the purpose of developing intelligent colored citizens. All parties, therefore, come to the same conclusion—the need of teachers. This need, especially in the rural districts, the Slater board is trying to supply by offering to appropriate $500 for colored county high schools, providing the county authorities appropriate at least a similar amount. The offer of the Slater board has already been accepted in Hempstead County, Ark., Sabine and Tangipahoa Parishes, La., and Newton County, Miss.

In these four cases the Slater Fund has appropriated a total of $2,000, while local taxation and private subscriptions have appropriated $9,401.

The work in this line is being pushed and great hope for the Negro race lies in the offer.

It is to be trusted that the Slater board will not stop here, but will eventually take its legitimate place as the promoter and encourager of the higher training of colored Americans.

THE BUSINESS LEAGUE.

THE last meeting of the Negro Business League in Philadelphia was an excellent occasion. The attendance was large and the accomplishment was noteworthy. In two directions especially the league is doing excellent work.

First, in encouraging thrift and saving and, secondly, in striking a strong, hopeful note. Despite this, however, the occasion must not be allowed to go by without a warning on two other points. First, the spirit of boasting and exaggeration and, secondly, the interpretation of business as a career of individual selfishness. The boasting and exaggeration at this last meeting of the league reached a danger point repeatedly. Statements were made on the floor as to earnings and accomplishments, which were either in wretched taste or careless exaggerations or indefensible lies. This sort of thing must be stopped if the business league is to keep the confidence of the public. Secondly, the business league must stop inculcating the theory that young Negroes take up a business career with the idea of making as much money as possible for themselves. Rather, it must emphasize business life among Negroes to-day as a philanthropy, as a means of group employment and group gain, not for making millionaires, but for making a large class of well-to-do citizens.

As a matter of fact, despite our commendable economic striving, we are still in the mass poor and ignorant people. We need a strong economic foundation, but we do not need to reproduce among ourselves in the twentieth century the lying, stealing and grafting which characterized the white race in the nineteenth century.

THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO.

THE relation of the church to the Negro is, or should be, a very simple proposition. Leaving aside the supernatural significance of the church organization, we have here groups of people working for human uplift and professing the highest and most unselfish morality as exemplified by the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth and the Golden Rule.

By this standard all church members should treat Negroes as they themselves would wish to be treated if they were colored. They should do this and teach this and, if need be, die for this creed.

The plain facts are sadly at variance with this doctrine. The church aided

and abetted the Negro slave trade; the church was the bulwark of American slavery; and the church to-day is the strongest seat of racial and color prejudice. If one hundred of the best and purest colored folk of the United States should seek to apply for membership in any white church in this land to-morrow, 999 out of every 1,000 ministers would lie to keep them out. They would not only do this, but would openly and brazenly defend their action as worthy of followers of Jesus Christ.

Yet Jesus Christ was a laborer and black men are laborers; He was poor and we are poor; He was despised of his fellow men and we are despised; He was persecuted and crucified, and we are mobbed and lynched. If Jesus Christ came to America He would associate with Negroes and Italians and working people; He would eat and pray with them, and He would seldom see the interior of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine.

Why then are His so-called followers deaf, dumb and blind on the Negro problem—on the human problem?

Because they think they have discovered bypaths to righteousness which do not lead to brotherhood with the poor, the dirty, the ignorant and the black. "Make them servants," they say; "we need cooks." But can a whole race be doomed to menial service in a civilization where menial service is itself doomed? And when menial service has become Service and lost its social stigma, so that white folk want to enter such service, will they welcome black folk as fellow servants? Certainly not; and thus the slavery argument of this cry stands revealed.

"But," cry others, "let the Negroes themselves bear their own social responsibilities for poverty, ignorance and disease. Segregate them and pile their sins upon them." Indeed! Are the poor alone responsible for poverty? And the ignorant for ignorance? Can the rich be allowed to escape with his spoil and the learned without obligation for his knowledge? If the black men in America are what they are because of slavery and oppression, how cowardly for white Christians to deny their own guilt. The real hypocrisy comes, however, when the Negro, eager to take responsibility, cries out for power with which to bear it and is denied such power. Denied higher training for his leaders, denied industrial opportunity to make a living, the self-assertion and self-defense of the ballot, denied even hospitals and common schools. Thus the church gaily tosses him stones for bread.

Even the rock of "Science" on which the white church rested with such beautiful faith, hoping to prove the majority of humanity inhuman, so that Fifth Avenue Presbyterianism would not have to dirty its dainty fingers with Fifty-third Street Baptists—and black ones at that—even this Rock of Ages is falling before honest investigation.

There is but the Golden Rule left—the despised and rejected Golden Rule. Can the church follow it? Is there common decency enough in the millions of white American church members to dare to treat Negroes as they would like to be treated if they themselves were colored?

The Negro problem is the test of the church.

THE BLACK FAIRY

By FENTON JOHNSON

LITTLE Annabelle was lying on the lawn, a volume of Grimm before her. Annabelle was 9 years of age, the daughter of a colored lawyer, and the prettiest dark child in the village. She had long played in the fairyland of knowledge, and was far advanced for one of her years. A vivid imagination was her chief endowment, and her story creatures often became real flesh-and-blood creatures.

"I wonder," she said to herself that afternoon, "if there is any such thing as a colored fairy? Surely there must be, but in this book they're all white."

Closing the book, her eyes rested upon the landscape that rolled itself out lazily before her. The stalks in the cornfield bent and swayed, their tassels bowing to the breeze, until Annabelle could have easily sworn that those were Indian fairies. And beyond lay the woods, dark and mossy and cool, and there many a something mysterious could have sprung into being, for in the recess was a silvery pool where the children played barefooted. A summer mist like a thin veil hung over the scene, and the breeze whispered tales of far-away lands.

Hist! Something stirred in the hazel bush near her. Can I describe little Annabelle's amazement at finding in the bush a palace and a tall and dark-faced fairy before it?

"I am Amunophis, the Lily of Ethiopia," said the strange creature. "And I come to the children of the Seventh Veil."

She was black and regal, and her voice was soft and low and gentle like the Niger on a summer evening. Her dress was the wing of the sacred beetle, and whenever the wind stirred it played the dreamiest of music. Her feet were bound with golden sandals, and on her head was a crown of lotus leaves.

"And you're a fairy?" gasped Annabelle.

"Yes, I am a fairy, just as you wished me to be. I live in the tall grass many, many miles away, where a beautiful river called the Niger sleeps." And stretching herself beside Annabelle, on the lawn, the fairy began to whisper:

"I have lived there for over 5,000 years. In the long ago a city rested there, and from that spot black men and women ruled the world. Great ships laden with spice and oil and wheat would come to its port, and would leave with wines and weapons of war and fine linens. Proud and

great were the black kings of this land, their palaces were build of gold, and I was the Guardian of the City. But one night when I was visiting an Indian grove the barbarians from the North came down and destroyed our shrines and palaces and took our people up to Egypt. Oh, it was desolate, and I shed many tears, for I missed the busy hum of the market and the merry voices of the children.

"But come with me, little Annabelle, I will show you all this, the rich past of the Ethiopian."

She bade the little girl to take hold of her hand and close her eyes, and wish herself in the wood behind the cornfield. Annabelle obeyed, and ere they knew it they were sitting beside the clear water in the pond.

"You should see the Niger," said the fairy. "It is still beautiful, but not as happy as in the old days. The white man's foot has been cooled by its water, and the white man's blossom is choking out the native flower." And she dropped a tear so beautiful the costliest pearl would seem worthless beside it.

"Ah! I did not come to weep," she continued, "but to show you the past."

So in a voice sweet and sad she sang an old African lullaby and dropped into the water a lotus leaf. A strange mist formed, and when it had disappeared she bade the little girl to look into the pool. Creeping up Annabelle peered into the glassy surface, and beheld a series of vividly colored pictures.

First she saw dark blacksmiths hammering in the primeval forests and giving fire and iron to all the world. Then she saw the gold of old Ghana and the bronzes of Benin. Then the black Ethiopians poured down upon Egypt and the lands and cities bowed and flamed. Next she saw a great city with pyramids and stately temples. It was night, and a crimson moon was in the sky. Red wine was flowing freely, and beautiful dusky maidens were dancing in a grove of palms. Old and young were intoxicated with the joy of living, and a sense of superiority could be easily traced in their faces and attitude. Presently red flame hissed everywhere, and the magnificence of remote ages soon crumbled into ash and dust. Persian soldiers ran to and fro conquering the band of defenders and severing the women and children. Then came the Mohammedans and kingdom on kingdom arose, and with the splendor came ever more slavery.

The next picture was that of a group of fugitive slaves, forming the nucleus of three tribes, hurrying back to the wilderness of their fathers.

In houses built as protection against the heat the blacks dwelt, communing with the beauty of water and sky and open air. It was just between twilight and evening and their minstrels were chanting impromptu hymns to their gods of nature. And as she listened closely, Annabelle thought she caught traces of the sorrow songs in the weird pathetic strains of the African music mongers. From the East the warriors of the tribe came, bringing prisoners, whom they sold to white strangers from the West.

"It is the beginning," whispered the fairy, as a large Dutch vessel sailed westward. Twenty boys and girls bound with strong ropes were given to a miserable existence in the hatchway of the boat. Their captors were strange creatures, pale and yellow haired, who were destined to sell them as slaves in a country cold and wild, where the palm trees and the cocoanut never grew and men spoke a language without music. A light, airy creature, like an ancient goddess, flew before the craft guiding it in its course.

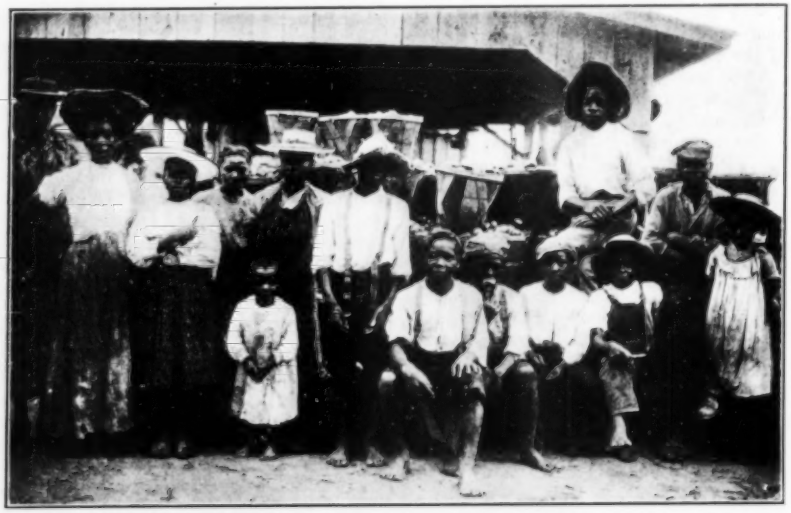
"That is I," said the fairy. "In that picture I am bringing your ancestors to America. It was my hope that in the new civilization I could build a race that would be strong enough to redeem their brothers. They have gone through great tribulations and trials, and have mingled with the blood of the fairer race; yet though not entirely Ethiopian they have not lost their identity. Prejudice is a furnace through which molten gold is poured. Heaven be merciful unto all races! There is one more picture—the greatest of all, but—farewell, little one, I am going."

"Going?" cried Annabelle. "Going? I want to see the last picture—and when will you return, fairy?"

"When the race has been redeemed. When the brotherhood of man has come into the world; and there is no longer a white civilization or a black civilization, but the

civilization of all men. I belong to the world council of the fairies, and we are all colors and kinds. Why should not men be as charitable unto one another? When that glorious time comes I shall walk among you and be one of you, performing my deeds of magic and playing with the children of every nation, race and tribe. Then, Annabelle, you shall see the last picture—and the best."

Slowly she disappeared like a summer mist, leaving Annabelle amazed.



CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTH: A CAROLINA CANNING FACTORY.

A GIRLS' CLUBHOUSE

By JULIA CHILDS CURTIS

"YOUNG women coming to St. Louis will do well to call at the headquarters of the Y. W. C. A., Garrison and Pine Streets. They will help you."

Such is the notice one may see in every paper in St. Louis devoted to the welfare of the Negro. This notice has been appearing for only about a year, for the Y. W. C. A. is a very recent undertaking in St. Louis.

For years the clubwomen have realized a crying need for a place in this great city where the stranger and unprotected colored girl might find safety and help. Having decided that the time was ripe for establishing such a place, they appealed to the National Y. W. C. A. to send one of its workers there to assist in the organization.

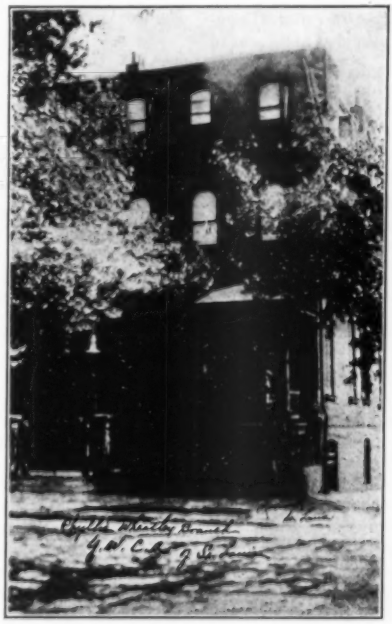
Mrs. Geo. Haynes of Nashville, Tenn., was sent in December, 1911, with the aid of the temporary organization and the combined effort of the St. Louis women in general, a three weeks' campaign for $3,000 was started. This amount was to be solicited from Negroes alone, for they wanted to test what the colored people were willing to do before asking aid from any other source. Although the amount asked was not secured, yet a great part of it was either given in cash or pledges payable in a year.

The results of the campaign were so encouraging that it was felt safe to launch the new work in St. Louis. The temporary

organization became permanent and a branch of the National.

The National Association sent, in January, 1912, one of its ablest and best workers, Miss May Belcher, to that field to superintend the work and assist the women there in getting the association into working order. It is needless to make any comment upon this part of the history of the association, for all who have been engaged in such work will know what a task there was to be accomplished.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Chapman, a wealthy St. Louisian, who had heard of the efforts being made by the colored women, a house for the use of the association was offered free for an indefinite length of time. The house was in poor condition, but after weeks and months of unselfish work and tireless effort by many of the women the building was opened to the public May 13, 1912. With its reception, club, reading, office and a few dormitory rooms, it offers shelter, aid and a home to many strange girls who have and are finding their way to St. Louis.



THE PHYLLIS WHEATLEY HOUSE.

Once installed in permanent quarters many thought the real task was over, but in truth it had just begun. It was here that the president and board of managers had to show what they were willing to do. Some of the board members dropped out, but the national secretary, Miss Belcher, the president, Miss Arsania Williams, and the remaining faithful members worked on. The work of the individual committees was almost lost sight of in the effort to raise the necessary funds and keep the association alive.

After a few months' existence the Wheatley became a branch of the Central Association of that city, the largest Y. W. C. A. in the world. This meant that they must have a member of the Central on their board, that all their transactions must be subject to the Central's approval, and all the Wheatley debts were to be assumed by them in case they were not able to be met. Be it said forever to the credit of the Wheatley branch Y. W. C. A. that it did not wish to have its debts assumed by the Central. When the first year of its history closed, and members and friends of the association met to rejoice, every debt had been paid and there was $18 left in the treasury. The surplus was not great, but it was a surplus and encouraging.

And now a word as to the work that the association has done and is doing. In its first year's existence the Wheatley branch was successful in forming several clubs among the girls and women in different sections of the city in order to meet the specific needs of the group and community.

Among them was the first authorized group of camp-fire girls among colored people in the world. We regret that this group in costume cannot just now be sent the readers of THE CRISIS, but some time you may see a part of the group as they looked just before going upon the association's tennis court a few days ago.

The gardening work among the younger girls is most helpful and greatly enjoyed. The opening of two fine tennis courts in different parts of the city has given the older girls a pleasure which the city itself denies to its Negro inhabitants. No col-

ored person may get a permit to play on a public tennis court in the city of St. Louis. The work among the juniors is being ably done by some of the best association workers. It is truly inspiring to watch large crowds of them as they gather weekly for the story hour, lessons in sewing, basketry, or the making of something to be used later at some one of their parties. A pleasant picture was made by a group of them, as they gathered for their Easter party, around a table decorated by articles which they had made. Mothers' clubs have been organized in several communities; they are well attended and seem to be highly appreciated.

At the building, during the winter months, there were regular classes in dressmaking, lacemaking and embroidery, china painting, choral work, some English work, Bible and mission study.

Three public affairs of the highest character were given during the year, viz.: An evening with Coleridge-Taylor, the Du Bois lecture and an operetta by the juniors, entitled "A Fête in Towerland."

The association work has meant and does mean much to St. Louis, and will, indeed, mean more as it grows stronger and more self-supporting. It has grown very rapidly, so much so that the Central last month came to the aid and offered to assume the national secretary's salary for six months in order that we might employ an assistant secretary, which was very quickly done. One of the Central members expressed quite well the rapid growth when she said: "A year ago you started to lift a calf and now you have a full-grown animal to lift over the fence."

The best part of this year's work, however, is that part which can neither be expressed in words nor writing. It is that which one feels. The changed attitude of the people, the unselfishness and sympathy among the workers, the willingness of both men and women to not only give financial support, but moral also. We hope the day is not long off when there will be the necessary means available for doing this work on the grand scale upon which it should be done, for St. Louis is the best situated city in the country for such a work.

PLACE OF THE NATIONAL EMANCIPATION EXPOSITION, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 22-31.

THREE EXPOSITIONS

THE three expositions to be held this fall commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the issuing of the emancipation proclamation are nearing completion. The Philadelphia State Exposition opened September 15 in a group of several buildings, which are being hurried toward completion. Governor Tener spoke that day, and there were historical floats. A religious congress was held September 16, and a sociological congress, September 18 and 19, a medical congress, September 23 and 24.

The New Jersey State Exposition will open October 6 at Atlantic City. The organizers were appointed September 1, 1912, to carry out the work for which it was created. They divided the State among themselves in order to systematize the work, and while it may have occurred that there was some neglect of duty it can be stated that no set of people, as a whole, have more conscientiously and faithfully performed their work.

The organizers have traveled over 20,000 miles, holding meetings, gathering statistics and soliciting exhibits from very nearly every city, town and rural district of the State. In some of the larger cities the work has been difficult for two reasons: first, because each place has its own local interests which come first, and, second, because in a few instances men who consider themselves leaders felt they had not had the recognition their standing and importance demanded. Notwithstanding this, there have been almost everywhere loyal race men who have taken the matter up, and wherever the masses could be reached they have responded.

The plan has been to organize leagues; thirty-seven of such groups have been formed; these in turn appoint committees on trades, inventions, needlework, millinery, dressmaking, tailoring, professions, business, real estate, music, education, etc.; in addition to this, inquiry blanks were sent out to ministers, teachers, farmers, business men, fraternal organizations, aged persons and Grand Army veterans, which have brought in an array of facts which will be shown on chart at the exposition. Beside all this the organizers, as far as they have been able, have made house-to-house canvasses with good results.

The national exposition to be held in New York City will take place in the 12th Regiment armory, in the very center of the city, only a half block from Broadway. The exposition will be divided into fifteen parts:

1. The industries of Africa.
2. The distribution of the Negro race throughout the world.
3. The health and physique of the Negro.
4. The work of Negro laborers.
5. The work of Negro artisans.
6. Negro clothesmakers, including all sorts of sewing.
7. Negro artisans.
8. Negro in business.
9. Agriculture.
10. Manufactures and inventions.
11. The professions, including the Hall of Fame.
12. Education.
13. Church.
14. Women and social uplift.
15. Art.

These departments will be illustrated by maps and charts, models of buildings, statues, model rooms, photographs, gardens and flowers, artisans at work, a moving-picture show with special films and, above all, a pageant illustrating the history of the Negro race. The music for the pageant has been written by Major Charles Young of the United States army. Charles Burroughs is master of the pageant, assisted by Mrs. Daisy Tapley in music and Mrs. Dora Cole-Norman in dancing.

The program, by days, is as follows:

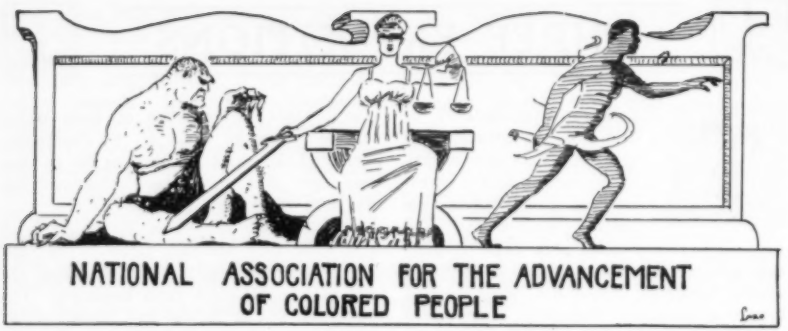
Wednesday, October 22—Opening day.

From Friday to Monday—Governor's day and congresses.

Saturday, October 25—Athletic meet.

Friday, October 31—Closing day and final concert.

The pageant will be given Thursday, October 23; Saturday afternoon, October 25; Tuesday, October 28, and Thursday, October 30.



TO THE PRESIDENT.

New York, August 15, 1913.

TO WOODROW WILSON, *President of the United States.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its board of directors, respectfully protests against the policy of your administration in segregating the colored employees in the departments at Washington. It realizes that this new and radical departure has been recommended, and is now being defended, on the ground that by giving certain bureaus or sections wholly to colored employees they are thereby rendered safer in possession of their offices and are less likely to be ousted or discriminated against. We believe this reasoning to be fallacious. It is based on a failure to appreciate the deeper significance of the new policy; to understand how far reaching the effects of such a drawing of caste lines by the Federal government may be, and how humiliating it is to the men thus stigmatized.

Never before has the Federal government discriminated against its civilian employees on the ground of color. Every such act heretofore has been that of an individual State. The very presence of the Capitol and of the Federal flag has drawn colored people to the District of Columbia in the belief that living there under the shadow of the national government itself they were safe from the persecution and discrimination which follow them elsewhere, because of their dark skins. To-day they learn that, though their ancestors have fought in every war in behalf of the United States, in the fiftieth year after Gettysburg and emancipation, this government, founded on the theory of complete equality and freedom for all citizens, has established two classes among its civilian employees. It has set the colored apart as if mere contact with them were contamination. The efficiency of their labor, the principles of scientific management are disregarded, the possibilities of promotion, if not now, will soon be severely limited. To them is held out only the prospect of mere subordinate routine service without the stimulus of advancement to high office by merit, a right deemed inviolable for all white natives as for the children of the foreign born, of Italians, French and Russians, Jews and Christians who are now entering the government service. For to such limitation this segregation will inevitably lead. Who took the trouble to ascertain what our colored clerks thought about this order, to which their consent was never asked? Behind screens and closed doors they now sit apart as though leprous. Men and women alike have the badge of inferiority pressed upon them by government decree. How long will it be before the hateful epithets of "Nigger" and "Jim Crow" are openly applied to these sections? Let any one experienced in Washington affairs or any trained newspaper correspondent answer. The colored people themselves will tell you how soon sensitive and high-minded members of their race will refuse to enter the government service which thus decrees what is to them the most hateful kind of discrimination. Indeed, there is a widespread belief among them that this is the very purpose of these unwarrantable orders. And wherever there

are men who rob the Negroes of their votes, who exploit and degrade and insult and lynch those whom they call their inferiors, there this mistaken action of the Federal government will be cited as the warrant for new racial outrages that cry out to high Heaven for redress. Who shall say where discrimination once begun shall cease? Who can deny that every act of discrimination the world over breeds fresh injustice?

For the lowly of all classes you have lifted up your voice and not in vain. Shall ten millions of our citizens say that their civic liberties and rights are not safe in your hands? To ask the question is to answer it. They desire a "New Freedom," too, Mr. President, yet they include in that term nothing else than the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution under which they believe they should be protected from persecution based upon a physical quality with which Divine Providence has endowed them.

They ask, therefore, that you, born of a great section which prides itself upon its chivalry toward the humble and the weak, prevent a gross injustice which is an injustice none the less because it was actuated in some quarters by a genuine desire to aid those now discriminated against.

Yours, for justice,

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.
By MOORFIELD STOREY,
President.
W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS,
Director of Publicity.
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD,
Chairman of the Board.

SEGREGATION.

THE above letter was released to the Associated Press on August 18. It was also sent with a request for personal co-operation to all members of the National Association, to 338 colored newspapers, 50 white religious papers, and to a number of prominent editors. Each branch was requested to hold a mass meeting of protest, and already several have reported preparations for such meetings as well under way. Many papers published the letter in full, several carried it as a news item and there has been considerable encouraging editorial comment quoted from elsewhere in these columns.

Letters from members in Washington say that though the discrimination signs have been taken down in the Treasury Department, the segregation order is still in force.

A resolution protesting against segregation has been introduced into the Senate by Senator Clapp, the good friend of the association.

BRANCHES.

BALTIMORE.—In addition to the branches already mentioned in THE CRISIS as having generously responded to our request for contribution to the new lawyer's salary, Baltimore has just sent her contribution of $100. The branch is now planning a mass meeting for October, at which Mr. Villard will be one of the speakers.

MUSKOGEE. — The constitution of the Muskogee branch has been approved. The names of the officers will be printed in the next number of THE CRISIS.

TOPEKA.—The officers of the Topeka branch, which is planning an active campaign for the coming year, are:

President, Hon. Arthur Capper; secretary, Mrs. Julia B. Roundtree; treasurer, Rev. Geo. G. Walker; executive committee, Prof. Nathaniel Sawyer, Capt. Patrick Coney, Mr. James H. Guy, Rev. C. G. Fishback, Dr. O. A. Taylor and Mr. A. G. Hagan.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HYGIENE ON SCHOOL HYGIENE.

Mr. James Clarke has represented our association at the International Congress of Hygiene on School Hygiene. He delivered his lecture each day and illustrated it with charts and photographs showing Southern conditions.

A FABLE

By JACOB RIIS

I WANT to tell you now a story which comes out of the old Russian folklore. A woman had lain in torment a thousand years. One day she raised her head and called up to the Lord to let her come out because she could not stand it another minute. The Lord heard and looked down and said to her: "Have you ever done one unselfish thing in your life, without hope of praise or reward of any kind?" The woman groaned because she had lived a life of selfishness, and the Lord said: "Here is your only chance." Then the old woman remembered one unselfish thing she had done, and said: "I gave an old man a carrot and he thanked me for it." The Lord said: "Where is that carrot? Bring it here." "But," said the old woman, "it is a long time, and the carrot must have rotted before now." "No," said the Lord, "even one unselfish deed could not perish." He said to an angel: "Go find the carrot and bring it here."

The angel went and brought the carrot and the Lord held it over the bottomless pit and let it down. When it reached the woman the Lord said: "Cling to it," and she clung to it and felt herself being drawn up. When the other souls in hell saw her being pulled out and that they were being left behind they made for her and clung to her arms, and to her feet, and to her garments, and instead of one woman being drawn up there rose up a never-ending chain of wretched, writhing, shouting humanity. The woman was half way to Heaven when she looked down and saw this great crowd hanging on to her. She feared the carrot would break. The old selfish anger rose up. She kicked and beat them off, crying: "Let go! This is my carrot!" At that moment the carrot broke and down she went.

This is like saying "My Father" instead of "Our Father." You cannot enter Heaven this way. You must go in with your neighbor on the other side.

Isn't that the way we have been dealing with the color problem? Is the republic of America "my carrot" any more than it is his, my black brother's? He has done his share. He has helped this republic to grow with the sweat of his brow without any reward of any kind. He has lived for it, fought for it and died for it. It is his by right.

THE AFTER THOUGHT

THUS ends the Children's Number of THE CRISIS, in the year of salvation 1913 and in the year of the freedom of their fathers the fiftieth. Wherefore let us stand in the sunlight and raise our faces to the blue sky, and in the midst of affliction and oppression thank God for light and air and laughter and little children.

Publishers' Chat

Our edition this month is 35,000—the highest point reached by our publication.

Our aim for this year is 50,000.

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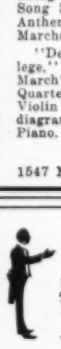

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W. E. B. DU BOIS,

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